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For the Philanthropist.

In the Philanthropist of November 3d, I find a reply to Boone, and a friendly invitation to further discussion. I accept this invitation, hoping our views of truth may be brought to harmonize, by mutual attempts to enlighten each other. Here let me premise, however, that the first communication of Boone was written for the eye of the Editor of the Philanthropist, and that no copy was retained, and consequently I may say some things which were said before.

The Editor may be correct in his undoubted assumption that I am biased by the interest I have in the institution of Slavery. My parents were Virginians and slave-holders. Indeed, as far back as I know anything of my ancestors, this blot—if blot it be—was upon them. Then I say that I may be correct in my ready conclusion that what I say should be read with allowance. I am only a man, and possess passions and prejudices like other men. I know the human mind is fallible, often torious in its reasonings and conclusions—easily swayed by circumstances—and starting from false premises will hardly ever arrive at right results. How often do we maintain opinions with zeal, and labor to convince others of error; never dreaming that we are wrong ourselves, until a sudden gleam breaks upon us, to show our own absurdity and the uncertainty of human reason. We take too much for granted—that which best suits our humor is true. We take it for granted that we are right and all confining opinions of consequence wrong. We do not stop to reflect that our posture—our stand may have been all error. The possibility of such a thing is never entertained for a moment, but all our energies are bent upon the converse position, which is wrong because we are right—or if perchance stumbling block be thrown in our way, we take it for granted that it should not stop us, and read it; go round or leap over it we must. We do not stop to think whether it were not best for us to go back to our starting point to see if we have not got into the wrong path. Our minds are easily biased by prejudice and hasty divest of it. Prejudice is often latent in the bosom after our best efforts to shake it off. May not the mind of our friend of the Philanthropist be jaundiced too? Has he no interest in the cause for which he wars? But here let me say one thing to him which he seems not to know. I declare myself morally and politically opposed to slavery. I believe it's a wrong—a grievous wrong both to the slave and the owner." I would rejoice with him to see the last negro in our land start for the land of their fathers. Did not set out to defend slavery—I started under the conviction that modern abolition was a wrong to white and black, and to make this appear to others for whom I felt an interest, was my object.

Now, in the abat fact principle of slavery there is agreement between the Editor and myself—we agree that it is an evil. But when there is an evil that cannot be removed, it must be borne,—and if it can be removed it ought to be done in the best way. Now, in his attempt to remove the evil he has not and does not stop at stumbling blocks—he has run them or leaped over in his onward way—not stopping to think whether it might not be possible that he had taken the wrong path. In his mind he has started right and all things must give way before him. Truth cannot conflict with Truth, and therefore every mountain of difficulty that besets his path must be torn down and removed, because the demon error has piled it up. The strongest reasoning and most stubborn facts must give way against him. He is right—this is the postulate—and he does not weigh those reasons and facts with an open mind, but binds all his energies to break their force—when, perhaps, if his mind had not received its bent, one-half the labor in unbiased examination would have convinced him that he was wrong. This is the Editor's case or mine.

Now I am willing to admit that abolition has its origin in the best feelings of our nature,—benevolence, love—to God and love to man—that expansive love which would gather all created things under its far-sweeping wings—that love which is the foundation principle of the Christian religion. If this be true, it should never depart from the precepts of the Bible. The glorious example of the Son of God, blazing resplendent with peace and good will to men should guide them in all controversy with their fellow-men. Is there in all his walk and conversation an instance of violation of order or of law? His disciples were evil entreated but turned not upon their persecutors. In all that Volume of Wisdom and Goodness, obedience to the laws and the rulers taught by precept and by example. Nor are we left to infer that this was on account of the superior excellence of those having authority—not yet of the perfect adaptation of those laws to the best interests of God and man. It was obedience to those laws and rulers as they were; and what they wanted in perfection was to be supplied by the goodness and patient bearing of those who were under them. "For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil." Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers." We will not amplify on this point. But to apply—the fundamental law of the land recognizes slavery in our midst, and guarantees the rights of the slave-holder to them as property. Now, the question here is not, 'Is this right?'—but, "Is it true?" So long as it remains true it is the law, and it is the duty of every good citizen to obey the law, "not only for wrath but for conscience' sake," "rendering unto all their dues." Is it the law of Ohio that every colored person coming within her borders shall give bond for his or her good behaviour, and that they will not become a charge upon the county or township, and that all persons employing such negro for this law has been complied with, shall pay a fine?—Then no order-loving and conscientious citizen should violate it. Is it the law of Ohio that all fugitive slaves escaping from service into her territory shall be given up to the person or persons claiming such service? Then it ought to be done according to the true intent and meaning of such law. It surely should not be resisted by conscientious men or women. Is it a felony to as-

sista fugitive slave escaping from his owner, or to harbor him after such escape? Then love to the colored man and sympathy for his wrongs must be strong in those who would peril their all of reputation and family hope in his cause, in this violation of human law and divine precept and example. And what is the reward? For men act from some motive of interest—the smile of God or man—the consciousness of doing right, or gain. Can you find it in the lids of the bible—in the moral sense of the community? Then let him figure it out in the prison—or let him send Ossianus home, instructed in all the ways of his duty—"obeying his master according to the flesh; not with eye-service as men pleasers, but with good service unto Christ." Now it van to say these things have not been done by abolitionists. The proof is ready—the records of the Courts show it. You may say that honest abolitionists have not done it. They say come out from among them.

You say, "Is our friend of Kentucky prepared to assume this ground?" Is he prepared to say that the Reformers of the Old Testament, and the great Reformer of the New, with his followers in all ages, should have bailed in their work when they looked on the storm of excitement occasioned by their efforts! Is he prepared to charge them with the guilt of the blasphemies and persecutions, and commotions which attended their labors?" By no means. But is our friend of the Philanthropist prepared to say that the angel of the Lord is in the burning bush? That the Mountain Abolition is trembling under the steps of Jehovah? Who has turned aside to see why the bush is not consumed? Or whom has the Almighty called up to the top of the mountain, amid thunders and lightning, and smoke, to speak of modern abolition? Who has He called with the voice of the trumpet, to build the walls of Jerusalem, and bid them work with their swords girded on? My ingenuity fails to offer me a proof more convincing of unfeigned zeal, than this comparison of modern abolition with the life-giving doctrine promulgated by the Son of God, in Galilee. Jesus Christ of Nazareth spoke as never man spoke before! Is there any want of evidence here, that this was God's work, when God himself was doing it? Because a rebellious and wicked multitude opposed their Master, does it follow that all opinions opposed by the mass of people are true? Then Smith, the Mormon, must be a Prophet indeed. You speak of indications of the smile of God upon your work—what are they and where? I will write here all that I have seen offered. It is from the Address of the Western Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Convention, published in the Philanthropist, of Nov. Nov. 2d.

* In your zeal to heap all wrong-doing on the slave-holders, you seem to forget that you are also doing violence to the common sense and interest of the non-slaveholding communities too—that you are interrupting their intercourse, their commerce, and their amicable relations with slaveholding communities. Here you touch their interest, and here you find the mainspring which has set in motion those mobs that have destroyed abolition presses in free states. And here the question might well arise, what right have you to disturb the quiet, injure the trade, and break up the friendly relations of a people with doctrines, in the success of which they have no concern? They tolerate you as one of themselves, so long as you are governed by the laws of social intercourse and interest which govern them.

You ask, "What mean these constant collisions between the states, so frequent of late years?" &c. Now, this is precisely what I would not have expected you to have asked. It is because you have "of late years," aroused the dormant jealousy of conflicting interests alluded by Mr. Madison, in your quotation. You have caused slaveholding states to execute with rigor laws, in most cases, made long ago, but suffered to remain inoperative so long as there was no pressing necessity for their execution—just as your law requiring negroes coming within your limits, to give bond, or leave the State, has remained inoperative until lately. Slaveholders are now on the watch for the emissaries of abolition,—every free negro is a suspected person—and you have occasioned this. It is self-protection and the protection of property which he permits to meet and disperse without tumult?

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It is not the free States which suffer because of slavery, as you intimate. Slavery curses the land in which it exists. It is slave labor that bears with incubus weight, upon the prosperity of the slave States,—this is the truth that is to rid the world of the curse. Interest will do more with mankind than all your inflammatory zeal and exciting advertisements. You must thoroughly Christianize the world, or convert men that it is their interest that slavery should cease before you effect its abolition. And in doing this, it would be well to enjoin to the slaveholders, that their souls are as precious in the sight of God, and in your sight, as the souls of their slaves.

The assertion that slaveholders are endeavoring to get the control of the National Government, or that they are trying or desiring to fasten slavery upon the free states, has no foundation in fact. They desire to prevent abolitionists gaining sufficient power to rob them of their property against their will. Your doctrine have made them sensible alive to the growing power of the free States; as the result is clearly indicated, when your power is sufficient. Will this result be immediate and unconditional emancipation? It surely would if there was no alternative. But there is an alternative; and you have already taught slaveholders to look to it. You can force a separation of this Union, but you cannot force unconditional emancipation! The slave states love the Union, but they will not see their rights trampled under foot. There was no triumph of Southerners or Northerners in the formation of our Constitution. It was a compromise of conflicting interests; and under this compromise we are "of late years," to sow the seed of discord, stir up strife, break up the harmony of this beautiful whole, and write in letters of blood, the mournful truth, "only man is wise."

EOONE.

* I desire not to be misunderstood here. I do not mean by anything I say, to favor mobs. They are insatiable, abhorrent to every feeling of humanity, religion, and public and private safety.

For the Philanthropist.

THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF SLAVERY
IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

DEAR SIR,—

Your letter of the 13th instant, has come to hand, in which you inform me that a friend of yours, writing from Philadelphia, desires you to obtain my opinion upon the practicability of a plan, which commands some attention amongst the friends of the Slave in that city; "for bringing suit in the Supreme Court of the United States, for the freedom of the slaves in the District of Columbia." My opinion has long been settled, that by the Declaration of Independence, followed by the constitution of the United States, Slavery, by the legal force and fair construction of those instruments, is forever abolished throughout our country. A number of the States, under this influence, and in obedience thereto, acting in good faith, immediately commenced the emancipation of their slaves; and we find in the primary Constitutions of the States in being at that time, no provision whatever made, acknowledging the existence of, or tending to perpetuate, slavery. Many of our wisest

and best men then, believed that Slavery in our country was the worst badge of colonial servitude, against which they were contending. It was more than intended, it was provided, in all the original States, that this badge, so far as it operated upon any portion of the people, should soon cease forever. No State, previous to that of Kentucky, (as I am informed,) introduced the word Slave, or Slavery into her Constitution, and the framers of the Constitution of the United States, acting upon the same broad and just principles, which had been adopted in the States, went still further, and as far as they could go, consistently, with the rights of the States, to secure immediate individual freedom to every human being within the entire country. Hence, Mr. Madison, who is frequently called the Father of the Constitution, and his peers, were unwilling to introduce into the Constitution of the United States, any clause which might be possible of inference, suggest the idea, that man could hold property in his fellow-man. The Declaration of Independence promulgated no new doctrine on this subject. It only conformed to the great principles and truths of the Christian Religion, and applied them as far as possible to the political condition of our country. Our Fathers well understood, that the law of Christianity was the law of Liberty, not only in a moral view, but also politically and personally. Why is it, then, it may well be asked, that slavery still exists in any portion of the country? Is it because all the States have not been faithful to the Constitution, or redeemed their pledge given before heaven to the world, that *all men are created equal*? The Southern portion of the Union still retain their Slaves, endeavoring to satisfy their consciences, that the words *ALL MEN*, in the Declaration of Independence, and the words *people*, and persons, as used in the Constitution of the United States, may at the North be clearly understood to include every human being, yet at the South include only white persons, nothing more! Such it appears to me, must be Southern logic to sustain Slavery.

The important question however is, have the Supreme Court of the United States jurisdiction over the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia; and, if so, is that jurisdiction derived from the Constitution of the United States; or to be exercised, must it be granted by legislative enactments?

The first consideration is, has Congress the power to create or bring into existence the system of slavery in any portion of our country, over which they have the grant and the right? To exercise exclusive Legislation in all cases whatever?" This power in Congress cannot be abolished. Suppose the Government of the United States should purchase with the assent of our Legislatures, a tract of land in Ohio, for the erection of a fort, magazine, &c., could Congress authorize slavery to be introduced and exist upon such soil; or license there a mart for the buying and selling human beings? Surely not, and why? It cannot be, because our State Constitution prohibits slavery, for that is subordinate to the Constitution of the United States and the laws made in pursuance thereof; and, as exclusive legislation is given to Congress over such place, the lack of power to introduce slavery therein must arise from their want of constitutional ability to create or abolish a system of slavery under any circumstances, or in any portion of our country. And here it seems to me, that if the United States were to make such purchases in any of the slave states, if any slaves were held therein at the time of the purchase, such slaves would instantly become free. To my mind, it is a solecism to say that Congress have no power to introduce slavery into any Territory which the Government may acquire, yet they have the power, and the right, to continue slavery in such Territory if existing therein when so acquired.

Apply this doctrine to slavery in the District of Columbia. The moment the cession was complete, the slave laws of Maryland and Virginia instantly ceased, and the slaves became free from the operation of those laws. What then did Congress do? Was any act passed by that body, declaring in direct terms, that slavery should exist or be continued in the District. It is believed not; but Congress provided that the laws of Maryland and Virginia in force at the time of the cession, should be continued in the District; the laws of the States in the part respectively ceded by each, are to be continued in the District; the public mind, and the public interest, are to be protected by the laws of the free States, for the Government of any district where they exercise Legislative power. To Congress it is granted, "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution all powers vested by the Constitution" in the Government of the United States or any department or officer thereof." It seems to me, that the power to adopt the laws of another State, cannot fairly be derived from the grant of power to make laws. The case however might be different where the power of Congress was primary and original, as in the several States; but to Congress, the power of Legislation is given or granted, and must be exercised within the grant. Suppose the District had been ceded by a free State, Congress could not in pursuance of the Constitution of the United States have introduced and abolished slavery therein, could they then adopt and sustain the slave system because it existed there in pursuance of the laws of Maryland and Virginia? Surely not; if the power was not directly given to Congress to make laws. The case however might be different where the power of Legislation was primary and original, as in the several States; but to Congress, the power of Legislation is given or granted, and must be exercised within the grant. Suppose the District had been ceded by a free State, Congress could not in pursuance of the Constitution of the United States have introduced and abolished slavery therein, could they then adopt and sustain the slave system because it existed there in pursuance of the laws of Maryland and Virginia? Surely not; if the power was not directly given to Congress to make laws.

He believes it necessary, for the promotion of the cause, to have anti-slavery papers, efficient lecturers, county meetings, state and world's conventions; in short, every thing calculated to bring, and keep the subject before the public mind; and this cannot be done without money! money!! money!!! The salaries of hard laboring editors are in arrears. The American and State societies in debt, many of our ablest lecturers have left the field, or are travelling on half or no pay, and all this for the want of funds. How then can Dr. Brooke retain a comfortable home, and feel for those in bonds as bound with them," "do unto others, as ye would be done unto you," "love thy neighbor as thyself;" but who does now, or ever has, lived up to them; and yet the approximations made have effected much for the human family.

I am personally acquainted with Dr. Brooke, and know of a certainty, that he has given, and continues to give, liberally, of his substance to promote the cause of universal freedom; and yet he does not begin to live strictly up to these injunctions. Nay, more, he cannot, and have more than a living from hand to mouth, in three months time.

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DEAR SIR,—

Your letter of the 13th instant, has come to hand,

in which you foundation and decide upon their obligatory power from the very beginning.

The aspects of things around us, and in our midst, all bode a favorable time for bringing up the question of slavery in the District of Columbia—before the Supreme Court of the U.S. Light is breaking upon us from the slaveholding states themselves. Even Mississippi is aiding in this great work. She has undertaken to prove, (and it is hoped will be successful,) that a slave brought into that State is something more than a mere bauble of cotton or other merchandise, and when she admits the slave to be a man, she will have proven that he cannot be an article of property. The municipal or local laws of a State can only regulate the tenure and evidences of property, not those of freedom and liberty. These are inherent rights, bestowed upon man by the Creator; they are individual not political rights, which no human law can take away or abridge, but as punishment for crime.

It seems to me to be a clear position, that the constitution of the United States, gives to the Supreme Court jurisdiction in all cases where the liberty of a human being is violated or restrained. Negroes by the constitution of the United States, are not recognized as property, but as persons, as human beings, as men; and as such cannot be made property by any acts of Congress. If this be so, and it seems to be self-evident, then the Supreme Court have jurisdiction, derived from the Constitution, over the question of Slavery, not only in the District of Columbia, but throughout the United States, in all places over which Congress has exclusive power of Legislation.

There can be no difficulty in making the question, when it is thought proper to do so; but a thorough examination of the whole ground seems necessary before any attempt is made. I have expressed my opinion, as I have formed it on general principles; and what I have written, consists of mere hints thrown together in the hurry of the moment, for the consideration of yourself and friends. If I am in error, no man will more cheerfully retract, than I, when convinced; or submit more willingly to a decision by the constituted authorities of the country. My object is, the security of Constitutional liberty, and an impartial and faithful administration of the laws, as they exist, which is the only hope and sure guarantee, that if any thing is wrong, the sovereign power of the people will soon apply the remedy.

I am with respect yours,
THOS. MORRIS.
CIN. NOV. 24th, 1841.

For the Philanthropist.
WILMINGTON, NOV. 23, 1841.

DR. BAILEY.—I see in the last number of the Philanthropist a communication from Dr. Brooke, a part of which strikes me as somewhat objectionable. The Dr. seems to take it for granted that all abolitionists profess to feel for those in bonds as bound with them; and because there is not correspondent action, propose an abandonment of the enterprise. Now I have not examined himself, and I, as closely as he should have done, or the article would not have been written just as it is. There are many abolitionists, and devoted ones too I think, who make no such profession, in the sense he implies. True, the injunctions are "remember those in bonds, as bound with them," "do unto others, as ye would be done unto you," "love thy neighbor as thyself;" but who does now, or ever has, lived up to them; and yet how shall it be accomplished? By voting only for the tried friends of Liberty, those who have the moral courage to engage in the warfare against this host of Southern cavaliers. And how shall we have such men to represent us? By putting such men in nomination and rallying the people to their support, by arguments and appeals addressed to their reason and hearts.

A thorough discussion of this whole question in the halls of our national Legislature, would be equal to its discussion in every slaveholding state in the Union. It is only by the free discussion of our principles in the capitol of the nation, that we can expect to change the people. Mankind have always been deterred from reform by the frightful stories of the self-interested few. Reform is the revolution of reason; war is the revolution of corruption; to arrest the latter is the urgent necessity of the former.

The South knows that when we have so far concentrated our power and brought it to bear against slavery in the District of Columbia. The moral influence of it would pierce the heart of the entire system. Hence their painful sensibility on this point, believing that even Garrison whose head was worth \$2,000, is comparatively innocent when compared to these voting political abolitionists. Because they are sagacious men. They know that the blow which batters down the gate of the basilica in the District, shatters the entire fabric to its foundation.

By the last Philanthropist I find that there has been a simultaneous effort on the part of Liberia colonizers, not only here but elsewhere, to profit by the recent outrages committed upon the defenceless colored people of Cincinnati; supposing no doubt that the old colonization arguments or appeals by "suasion," which were used in Ohio, would make them "willing to go to Liberia." Judge Burnet's address, or rather play upon words, at the late colonization meeting, assumes the same anti-Christian, anti-republican ground, which was taken by a Rev. Mr. Hastings, agent of the A. C. Society in this place; that the colored people could never rise in this country.

acting so as to strengthen a principle, the absurdity of which is only equalled by its enormous wickedness.

The vote for the Liberty ticket at the late election in this county instead of being either 50 or 78 as represented in the Aurora, was upwards of 100. We know of 100 and have reason to believe that there were several more. Last year we had 11 votes, and by taking early measures and standing by our principles, not veering first to the one and then to the other political party we shall poll at least 500 votes next fall.

Enclosed find twenty-two dollars, for subscriptions to *Philanthropist*. The friends of humanity here say the paper must and shall be sustained. Yours for the oppressed. J. H.

Salem, O. Nov. 20, 1841.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.

CINCINNATI,
Wednesday Morning, December 8, 1841.

OUR ANGLO-SAXON ANCESTRY.

Who has not heard of the Anglo-Saxon, with his crabbed language, rugged independence, and quenchless love of liberty? What orator does not grow boastful, as he alludes to our Anglo-Saxon ancestry? Noble sires, we fondly think, only to be surpassed by us, their nobler sons. With what reverence we revert to our parent stock! With what pride we talk of our blood! With what jealousy we guard against its contamination!

After all, we are a mongrel breed—a heterogeneous mixture—shall we say?—of all the leakages of all peoples and tribes under heaven. Amalgamation, in fact, is the fundamental law of this compound republic. Still, the Anglo-Saxon is the predominant element—the element that controls, tempers and shapes all the rest.

What then of our ancestry? Did they always stand erect? Did the chain never gall their heel? Never! cries the bled blood orator—oppressions piled up mountain high, could never have bowed Anglo-Saxon energy to the dust!

We shall see. History will tell some things of our far-famed ancestry, which it is hardly possible to glory in.

Of the Anglo-Saxons, if we choose to go back to the period before the Norman conquest, according to the best authorities, three-fourths were absolute slaves. That is, fifteen hundred thousands out of two millions of people, were goods and chattels, as verily such as the black slaves of the South. English lawyers, we know, are loath to admit this. They presume, that such men as the Anglo-Saxons, in conquering Britain, had too much energy, too ardent a love of personal liberty, to endure bondage for a moment. But presumption cannot weigh against facts. Humiliating as it is, we must confess to a vassal, and enslaved ancestry, if we would not belie history. "They were bought and sold with land," says Turner, in his Anglo Saxon history, "and were conveyed in the grants of it, promiscuously with the cattle and other property upon it."

In our slave states, advertisements, collocating men and women, mules and pigs, are an every day affair. So among our revered ancestors, in enumerating property on an estate, we hear of "a hundred sheep, fifty five swine, two men, and five yoked oxen." One bought land for thirty pounds, and gave seven pounds more for all "the things on it, as men, stock and corn."

Is the southern master's right, to will his slaves as he would his houses and barns. So the Anglo-Saxon slave used to be left as a legacy. And occasionally he was devoted to as pious uses, as Afric-American slaves, bequeathed by a praying professor, to his church. Thus, Wynfeda, in her will, bequeaths to Edwold, Elfsige, the cook, and Telf, the daughter of Wareburga, and Ecelm, his wife and their child—all able doubtless to boast of their Anglo-Saxon blood, undefiled by any foreign mixture.—So an archbishop bequeaths land to an abbey, with ten oxen and two men; and Wulfgar piously says—"I give to Elfsie abbot, the land at Ferseford, with the provisions, and with the men, and with all the produce as it is cultivated."

And the galling vassalage of our renowned ancestry was hereditary, for so the law ordained. "What the law makes property, is property;"—so says the famous advocate of slavery, Henry Clay. The law made Anglo-Saxon babies property, and they grew up property; and from one of these pieces of property, Henry Clay, is doubtless a lineal descendant. The indignation he feels at the recollection of the slavery of his ancestors, should awaken him to the claims of the sixty articles of property, on which he is inflicting a similar wrong.

"Some of the prices of slaves appeared in the written contracts of their purchase which have survived.

"There is declared in this book, that Edwold, the wileow of Sewgels, bought Gladu at Colemen, for half a pound, for the price and the toll; and Edwold, the post Gerefa, took the toll; and thereto was witness Leowin, brother of Leoward, and Elwi blaca, and Elwi the King, and Landbriht, and Alca, and Seward; and may he God's curse forever that this ever undoes. Amen."

In those days, we see, God's sanction was invoked to the binding relation of slavery.—Church-men too, made no more of pocketing the price of white blood, than some of their brethren of this day, do, of trading in black blood. Thus, an abbot sold Wargne, for an acre of gold.

It is not a pleasing thought, that our Anglo-Saxon parents used to be valued by the same standard, by which was estimated an ox or an ass! "At every purchase and sale, money was paid to the grefs: for an ox, a farthing was allowed; for a man, four pennies."

The right to enslave Anglo-Saxons was not confined to their own countrymen. They were set up at public auction in the markets of Rome. The haughty Roman doubtless regarded our wretched ancestors, as we now look

upon the poor negro. In France, your Anglo-Saxon slave was quite a common animal.

The punishments they suffered, were like those inflicted on the Afric-American slave.—Whether the thumb-screw, stocks, and other gear of a Southern plantation, were in vogue in those times, we are not apprised. But, our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, were subject to be put in bonds, whipped, branded, and at times were actually yoked. "Let every man know his team of men, of horses, and oxen," says an old writing.

The slave-trade was carried on with considerable briskness. The soul-driver of those days would scour all England, hunting up our Anglo-Saxon progenitors, huddle them together like sheep, and drive them to some point, whence they could be shipped abroad. There is nothing new under the sun. Take, for example, the following extracts.

"Some young men were exported from Northumberland, to be sold according to a custom which seems to be natural to the people of that country, of selling their nearest relations for their own advantage."—*Maledicta, lib. 1 c. 3.*

"There is a seaport town, called Bristol, opposite to Ireland, into which its inhabitants made frequent voyages on account of trade. Wulfstan cured the people of this town of a most odious and inveterate custom, which they derived from their ancestors, of buying men and women in all parts of England, and exporting them to Ireland for the sake of gain. The young women they usually got with child, and carried them to market in their pregnancy, that they might bring a better price. You might have seen with some horror, groups of young persons of both sexes, and of the greatest beauty, tied together with ropes, and daily exposed to sale: nor were these men ashamed, O! horrid wickedness! to give up their nearest relatives, many of their own children to slavery. Wulfstan, knowing the obstinacy of these people, sometimes held two months among them, preaching the Lord's day, by which in process of time, he made a great impression upon their minds, that they abandoned that wicked trade, and set an example, to all the rest of England, to do the same."—*Henry His. Vol. IV. p. 238.*

Chancellor Harper in his defense of slavery, enlarged considerably on its civilizing influences. The foregoing is a beautiful illustration of the truth of his position.

We need hardly say, that while slavery prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons so greatly, its usual disastrous concomitants, were every where visible. Poor freemen were degraded, jealously watched, excluded from employment, exposed to starvation. Agriculture was conducted in a slovenly manner—its products scarcely yielding enough for the sustenance of the people. Manufactures were exceedingly rude.—Of trade there was comparatively none. The higher classes were military in their habits; the lower, servile; all were destitute of enterprise or invention. It was only when freemen became multiplied, and began to find employment, renting land of the larger proprietors, or betaking themselves to various handicrafts in towns, that the country commenced a career of improvement; and this kept pace with the enfranchisement and elevation of the lower classes.

These results were accomplished by various causes, co-operating. No formidable interest was arrayed against emancipation. Slavery was felt to be impoverishing. No great staple depended for culture on slave-labor. Hence, natural causes acting against the system had full play.—The prevalence of Christianity carried with it clearer notions of human rights, and led to the practice of voluntary emancipation, which was encouraged by the laws. Slaves being allowed to acquire a little property, frequently became their own purchasers. Some of the laws were enacted with a direct view of lessening the number of the enslaved. An act was procured by Alfred, "that if any one in future should buy a Christian slave, the time of his service should be limited to six years; and that on the seventh he should be free, without any payment, and depart with the wife and clothes he had at first." Another humane law "directed that, if a slave was not claimed by his lord within a limited period, he should be presumed to be free." The North-men, in their invasions, by planting colonies of freemen, augmented the proportion and power of this class of population, &c. at the same time, by cutting off the great Anglo-Saxon proprietors, left multitudes of slaves without masters, who then experienced the benefit of the law just mentioned. The Norman conquest revolutionized the kingdom, and giving rise to innumerable civil wars, in which "such numbers of the nobility perished," contributed largely to the final enfranchisement of the slave population. These are the chief causes to which we are to ascribe the abolition of slavery in England.

One remark, and we conclude. So far as we can learn, the Anglo-Saxon slave, notwithstanding our vain boast that none of this race could submit quietly to the yoke, was as tame and abject under his oppressor, as the negro slave, who works under the lash of a Southern taskmaster. When, therefore, we affect to despise him for his servility, let us remember that our ancestors were once as mean-spirited as he now is.

DR. WILSON AND SLAVERY.

Some two or three years since, Dr. Wilson, pastor of the first Presbyterian church, one of the most venerable and influential ministers in his sect, preached two sermons, essentially pro-slavery, as we judged. We reported them to the Philanthropist at the time. We are happy to announce, that whatever might have been the tenor of his discourses then, he has since borne on one occasion at least a very faithful testimony against slavery. On the National Fast Day, he delivered a sermon, from which we make the following extract. In enumerating the national sins, after having denounced Sabbath breaking, he thus alludes to oppression.

"Alas, we are too, a nation of oppressors; the wrongs of Africa testify against us. I admit, that as a republic we did not plant American slavery on the soil. Undoubtedly this work of sin and shame was done by foreign power, when we were dependent colonies. But we have given sanction to its duration, and augmented its growth. By our federal compact, the slave-trade was continued till 1808. And the domestic slave-trade is continued on to the present hour. We call the slave-trade between the continents piracy, but the slave-trade often engages in the assassination of character. We

between the States is denominated lawful traffic. We talk of abolishing the African slave-trade by colonies and ships of war—but the slave-trade goes on with all its horrors, and can never be abolished so long as there is a slave market kept open. Let us pull out the beam before we try to extract the mote. Abolish the slave markets, and the trade is at an end. We proclaim liberty by wholesale, with the trumpet of our national jubilee, but the oppressed goes not free. And while our Federal compact remains what it is, there is no remedy. When a nation is called in the Providence of God to mourn and repent, she is called upon to reform. Will this nation now be humbled under the mighty hand of God, and reform, or will she brave his vengeance? The same power that made our Federal Constitution what it is, can make it better. It is not, like the laws of the Medes or Persians unchangeable. The majority in our government rule, or we plunge into anarchy or despotism. The majority said the evil should continue, and it continued. The minority bowed to their will. Now, let the majority say, it shall end. Let them say so in a constitutional way, and end it. As long as the majority must submit. As soon as the majority say, slavery shall be lawful, a binding relation must exist between master and servant; with which no man has a right to meddle, only to propose in a peaceable manner constitutional remedies. But, let the majority say, slavery shall not be, and this relation is instantly dissolved—the slave is free—the master's authority comes to an end.

That Patriot who shall place himself as a shield between this nation and the righteous judgments of God, by the procuring of an amendment to the Constitution to abolish slavery, will deserve and receive the thanks of good men in this nation, and among every wise and virtuous community under heaven. How would my heart rejoice to see such a man as the Hon. Henry Clay, or Daniel Webster, or some other able statesman, take the lead in this good work, and with his mighty hand, push on such a reformation to its full accomplishment."

Henry Clay or Daniel Webster lack the courage or the principle. It is vain to, look to such men. The Statesmen who now move on the American theatre, are all (except J. Q. Adams) of the Compromising School—all the representatives of the sentiment which regards slavery as an evil to be endured, not remedied. There is nothing to be hoped from them. Besides, statesmen will not move till they see the people moving. No man in public life will risk himself by proposing such an amendment, unless backed by the people. Let Dr. Wilson do his duty, in striving to arouse a strong anti-slavery feeling in his church, and let every man holding similar sentiments, do the same thing in his own circle, and we shall soon have statesmen to do our bidding. But, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster will hardly be among them. The Liberty party will have to furnish its own statesmen.

OLD TIMES.

Fifteen years ago, in this county and adjoining ones, it was no discredit to a man, to oppose the Slave Power. If a politician had then been suspected of pro-slavery opinions, he would have been ruined. People generally think that this political movement of ours on the slavery question, is entirely new. They are mistaken.—As far back as 1826, in the first Congressional District, composed at that time of Hamilton and Clermont, one of the political parties brought out a candidate for Congress, expressly on the ground of his opposition to slavery.

Resolved, That the repeated declarations of our southern friends, that at the institution of our present government there was any guaranty or compact, that slavery should be upheld or maintained as a permanent institution of our land, is not either politically or morally true; but on the contrary the constitution, as finally approved by the people, was meant, and designedly meant, to afford protection to the inalienable rights of every individual, whether white or colored, bond or free, within the borders of the United States; and that those now held in slavery are kept so in violation both of its spirit and letter.

Resolved, That steps should be taken, as soon as may be, either by writ of habeas corpus or otherwise, to bring a suit before the supreme court of our land to test that question, and as interested in a decision, which will involve so much of the future happiness or misery of those who are in whole or in part derived from African descent, we will exert our utmost to elect such an executive, both our State and executive councils, as will sustain the efforts in carrying out the great principles of freedom, which our fathers pledged the world in their constitution, those adopted, for the regulation of the people. Holding, as we do most sincerely hold, that when that constitution speaks of persons it means all persons, without distinction of climate, color, or sex, there being in no part of it any exception made to any race of men on the globe, and that this was not done either through carelessness or oversight, but on the contrary, designedly and intentionally, it was determined in solemn council there should be no exception made, but that all persons should find a home and asylum from persecution and oppression within the borders of the union.

It is well known to you all, that for a long time past, a struggle has existed in our National Councils, as to which of the two great interests of the country, should be fostered and protected; these two interests are, the *law of Freemen, and the labor of Slaves.*

Labor in the North Eastern, the Middle, and North Western States, is performed by *Freemen*, in the South and South-Western States, it is performed by *Slaves*.

The Gentlemen of the South have maintained, that the protection claimed for manufacturing, and mechanical labor is prejudicial to them, because their laborers, being slaves, could not profitably engage in it. And acting upon this principle, they have steadily opposed, in Congress and out of it, the salutary measures which have produced so much benefit to the country.

In consequence of this supposed difference of interest, the South has advocated a policy different from that of the other sections of the Union, and adverse to that which has prevailed. At the late Presidential election, the candidate brought out and supported by the South, though a most worthy and eminent man, obtained but a very partial vote in the States where *slave labor* did not exist.—In Ohio he was not voted for at all, each of the other candidates being considered by their supporters, as advocates of the favoring of the system of the West.

In its efforts last winter to bring suspicion andodium upon the administration, we perceived clearly and distinctly that this question of *slave and free labor* was at the bottom of every measure.

The *Journal of the American Anti-Slavery Society*, as well as the *right of slavery* was boldly asserted.

Opposition demonstrations were poured out against all who did not unite in their policy.

New language was coined from what was considered the imminent interference of the Free States, or of the General Government.

We therefore consider that the present opposition to the Executive administration of the United States, is based upon the principle of preferring *slave labor* to that of *freemen*.

And we put the question to you, fellow-citizens, are you prepared to join an opposition, the object of which is to withdraw protection from your own agriculture and manufactures, in favor of the *slave labor* of the South?

We feel bound to protest against this doctrine, as *false*. How any one who has read the history of the times, when the constitution was formed; understands the circumstances under which, and the objects for which it was adopted; and has examined the debates in the convention that framed it; can maintain this opinion, we know not.

True, the *letter of the instrument*, without any reference to its history or intention, (a reference which no honest mind can fail to make,) may bear out such an idea; but to say that a constitution, which throughout bears the marks of concessions to slavery, concessions demanded and granted expressly for its security, was designed to empower Congress or the Supreme Judiciary to put an end to this system, at such a time as this question of *slave and free labor* was at the bottom of every measure.

But, it is needless to argue this question. When the doctrine was first announced, we gave our reasons against it at length. We do not apprehend that anti-slavery men will suffer themselves to be carried away with exaggerated notions on this subject.

Nothing but evil, we fear, can flow from giving countenance to these novel opinions. Now, that we have applied ourselves to political action, it behoves us more assiduously than ever, to avoid every appearance of wishing to overstrain the constitution, or pervert its true meaning;

more strictly than ever, to observe constitutional modes in redressing constitutional or unconstitutional wrongs.

Follow-citizens, we ask you seriously to reflect upon the matters here suggested for your consideration. We entreat you not to be borne away by the torrent of violence and denunciation, which there is reason to apprehend may be poured out upon you. Already, for exercising the undoubted right of freemen, that of meeting to consult about disposing of our suffrages, we have been admonished, as a second black-leg coalition.

Already, we have been admonished, as a *political incendiaries*. We may well suppose these but a forecast of what is to follow. We confide in your good sense, that outrages upon the exercise of undoubted rights, will be viewed with just indignation, and repelled with scorn. We trust you will disown these anonymous libellers, who, during an election canvass, too often engage in the assassination of character. We

disclose all connection with such, and we hope that none will take part with us in printing or publishing, but those who are prepared to use a *reverent tone*.

The question, fellow-citizens, is no common one. It is not whom of two supposed to support the same policy, we shall vote for as President; but it is, *shall we unite ourselves to an opposition, openly at war with our best interests*—their leaders having avowed the intention "to drive us to the wall and nail us there."

Fellow-citizens, we proclaim every wish to array ourselves against the South, or any section of our common country. We proclaim all intention of prejudicing the minds of the people of Ohio against the rights and the interests of any other State.

But we claim that the right of *self-defence* ought to be exercised.

It is Southern men that are now arrayed in opposition. It is Southern men who inhibit touching, on the floor of Congress, in discussing great national questions, any subject which they suppose may possibly affect even the abstract *justice of slavery*, in a free country. It is Southern men who urge against our Federal executive the charge of venality and corruption. It is Southern men who introduce these matters for discussion, who declare we shall "drive us to the wall and nail us there."

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SLAVE LABOR IN LOUISVILLE.

It is somewhat remarkable, that the people of Louisville are ambitious of rivaling Cincinnati, in the article of *free labor*. They show a very clear appreciation of the unprofitableness of slavery. In the report of a committee appointed by a convention of mechanics, held there October 12th, we find the following anti-slavery clause.

"In regard to the means of carrying on manufacturing establishments, Louisville is not on a par with the upper towns. There is no longer any difficulty in procuring any quantity of free labor which may be demanded, at rates about as cheap as in any other place. The policy of the State, in regard to slavery, has brought free labor into regulation here, and, *hence*, in a great degree, destroyed the habit of employing slave labor. The consequence is, that much the larger portion of the labor in the city, and in the market farms and gardens, is performed by white men; and, no difficulty is ever or can ever be experienced in employing white men, boys or girls here, at about the same rate as in the towns above."

RIGHT OF PROPERTY.—We have heard of many rights—the right of war—the right of purchase—the right of possession, &c. There is another right, which we may easily understand a contemporary—viz.—the right of prophecy—that is to say, the right of doing anything that they are foreseen that will do it. This contemporary, after remarking that the English have not had strict right in their dealings with the Hindoos or the Chinese, says,

"But there is one species of right they have had—a right on the side of which is arrayed many of the express declarations of the Bible. The downfall of every nation who remain heathen, is there expressly announced and foretold." Under this view of the matter, the Spanish conquerors thought they had a right to butcher the unoffending aborigines of this continent. On this principle, some learned divines justify the enslavement of the Africans. On this principle, Pharaoh had a right to oppress the Israelites—for their captivity was foretold. And on this principle, Judas might have plead a right to betray the Son of God—for his treachery was "expressly announced and foretold."

Did our contemporary really mean what the fair construction of his language would import? We do not believe he did. In the hurry of writing newspaper articles, from day to day, it is almost impossible to be as guarded in language as is desirable.

TEMPERANCE MOBBD.—Some of the Temperance men in New York, while lately engaged in making preparations to burn King Alcohol in effigy, were set upon by a gang of vagabonds and severely maltreated. The Riot was at last quelled and order restored. If abolitionists should attempt to burn King Slavery, they would not only be mobbed for their pains, but you would find scarcely a newspaper which would not strongly denounce their imprudence and lay upon them the blame of the disturbance.

LIFE IN TEXAS.—A planter, named Youkum, who owned a hundred negroes and one hundred breeding mares, was lately put to death by the citizens of Jefferson county, Texas, for attempting to murder Mr. Cary, a wealthy gentleman and his guest. An old well was found on his premises containing numerous skulls and bones.

TEMPERANCE IN LOUISVILLE.—The Daily Journal announces the organization of a Washington Temperance Society in Louisville.

FATAL DUEL.—The duel, which was anticipated in our paper of Tuesday, as the result of an altercation between two gentlemen, took place yesterday with small swords in the vicinity of the saw-mill, in the lower part of the city. Mons. Chevremont was killed by a thrust near the heart, and Mr. Ledoux was slightly wounded in the shoulder. We do not know which was the challenged party.—*N. O. Crescent City.*

Another.—News was received in town, yesterday, that in a duel a day or two since, at Baton Rouge, Mr. Landreux had fallen a victim to the sword of Mr. Girod; both were citizens of this place, and we learn they fought with broad swords.—*Ib.*

Wherever there are castes, there you find a set of idlers, whose characteristics are pride, false notions of honor, and violence of temper, from which naturally springs dueling. Slavery must be put down, and men made to work for their living in the south, as in the north, before you can prevent this honorable species of murder.

AARON DURE.—The editor of the Natchez Free Trader, Col. J. F. N. Claiborne, states that certain papers of Aaron Burr have come into his possession, which will throw much light on the character and doings of this man, and establish, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that if a former Vice President of the United States was engaged in an unlawful scheme of ambition, he had for his coadjutors some of the most distinguished men in the Union.

BRITISH CENSUS IN 1841.—The Census of Great Britain and Ireland in 1841, has been finished, and is stated in some of the English papers:

England and Wales, 15,901,981

Scotland, 2,625,486

Ireland, 8,205,382

Guernsey, Jersey, Man, 124,079

26,856,028

Exclusive of seamen in the Navy and Merchant service and Travellers.

HONOR TO WHOM HONOR.—The American Citizen speaking of the Mendians, remarks—

"Among those who have made efforts for the rescue of these unprotected strangers from the clutch of the slave power, and for their return to freedom and a happy home, for their unremitting perseverance and unflinching courage, Lewis Tappan is pre-eminently entitled to our admiration. With what emotions must Cinque and his companions regard him! The parting scene between them one could hardly wish to witness! Their teachers too and all who have stood their fast friends—J. Q. Adams, Jos. Leavitt and the rest—how sad the separation from them, and what recollections associated with their very names by acts of the most interested and devoted kindness must bear with them to their distant home and to the last hour of life! In the brief, but eventful history of these men, let us cherish the hope, that a brighter day is soon to break upon their countrymen."

AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.—It is estimated that, since 1800 (the period when it was supposed a mortal blow had been given to this hellish traffic, both by Great Britain and the United States,) to 1840, there have been kidnapped and carried from Africa to the Brazils, 2,420,000; to Cuba and Puerto Rico, 1,020,000; to the French Colonies, Mexico and the United States, 300,000 Captured and liberated, and died after capture, about 140,000. Total, 3,880,000!!

Upon the most moderate computation, the slave trade does to the horrors of slavery, every year, among Christian (?) powers, 120,000; Mohammedan powers, 50,000; total, 170,000. Destroyed annually in procuring this number 250,000; making a total of 450,000—or more than *twelve hundred a day!* What keeps this terrible trade alive, under such pains and penalties as are declared against it? What but the system of slavery, which furnishes the market to tempt unprincipled men to risk every thing in hope of a rich compass?

The universal abolition of negro slavery would immediately destroy the foreign slave trade, and deliver infested Africa from the fiendish invaders. While human beings can be sold with a profit, they will be stolen for sale. The market being destroyed, the trade dies of necessity.—*Liberator.*

CORRECTION.—Anti-slavery writers have fallen into an error in their statements of the number of children annually reduced slavery by this boasted land of freedom.

Suppose the slave population to be $\frac{2}{3}$ millions; the annual deaths under mild treatment would be 1 to 30, or an aggregate of 83,333 in a year. Notwithstanding this number die, there would be an annual increase of 3 per cent, making an aggregate of 75,000.

The number born in a year must, of course be equal to these two numbers combined; showing an aggregate of 158,233 free children, under our republican government, annually plundered of all those rights which were conferred upon them by their Creator, and reduced to the

most abject slavery,—equal to 433 every 24 hours. And this heavy-handed wickedness is daily enacted in our land, by and with the consent of the sovereign people. When will the American people obey the command of Jehovah, "Break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free?"—*Protectionist.*

MR. BRYANT RELEASED.—We rejoice in being able to announce that our friend Bryant is released.

DR. BAILEY.—Last Thursday I attended the trial of J. Bryant before the examining court, which consisted of five of the magistrates of the county. The majority of these, I was told, are slaveholders, and have actually lost a number of slaves by their having escaped to Canada. You can judge of the chance of justice before such a court. Modest men in such circumstances would have declined sitting in judgment on such a case. They appeared to me to act very much as though they thought they had got hold of the cause of their misfortunes, and were determined to have vengeance. I observed one or two of them writing bills to rail and sneer at the equalizing institutions of the free states. Nevertheless, our Northern editors, with that forgetfulness of the claims of Liberty, which has for the last ten years peculiarly distinguished them, have fallen into the habit of praising this periodical without qualification, without protest against its abominable doctrines on the subject of human rights. Late, we perceive that a correspondent of the Gazette has been aroused by the degeneracy of its moral tone. He gives some precious specimens from a late number, of the morals of the publication. We quote from his article.

"We commence our remarks with Mr. White's introduction to the article called, *Incidents in ship and shore in the life of a midshipman.*" He says, "we assume him (the writer)—and our readers will confirm the opinion, that his 'yarns' have a twist and a smoothness that make them truly delightful; and with the following day up the whole proceedings of the inferior court, and discharged him."

"After some preliminary descriptions of himself, his ship, his messmates, &c., &c., he introduces a description of the Park Theatre, New York. After some remarks on the stage, he comes to a "tour of observation" to the grog shop and the *third tier* of boxes. We venture to assert, that if the description given was written for the express use of a private brother, it could have been noted down. Taking these "stately, delicious" passages,

"My lady love, nothing loath presently put her arms around my neck, and drawing me towards her, whispered in my ear, 'you shall go home with me.' 'Well, young officer, I'll tell you what you can do, if you won't go home with me, you can take me down to the punch room, and give me a glass of gin and water.' As I passed out of the punch room, I saw several stout fellows with big whiskers, wink at each other, and heard one of them say, 'That Sal's a keen wench, she's got a younger in her month's pay left; I guess there won't be much of his month's pay left by morning.'

"There! Did the twist and smoothness of Oliver Twist there! A few more such 'twists' and delightful truths, will banish even the *Messenger* from every abode of intelligence and virtue. But we are not done. He next introduces his readers into the pleasures of a bacchanalian supper, from thence to his ship, and finally a visit to the Five Points in New York. We much question, whether any description equally disgusting, or any language of equal description was ever published west of the Alleghenies. Coming over to our knowledge, we come boldly out, and we claim for them the match to similar 'yarns,' or delightful truths. Read this."

"Jack as he hoved from one end of the dance to the other, (with prostitutes) giving extra dollars, or leaping two or three feet from the floor in a fit of joy, and shouting, at the top of his voice, Sal, or Bet or Polly, come my old cock, none of your pulsing tunes here; give me your old cock, and I'll tell you what you can do, if you won't go home with me, you can take me down to the punch room, and give me a glass of gin and water." As I passed out of the punch room, I saw several stout fellows with big whiskers, wink at each other, and heard one of them say, "That Sal's a keen wench, she's got a younger in her month's pay left; I guess there won't be much of his month's pay left by morning."

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The National Anti-Slavery Standard and Emancipator of last week each contained a long and interesting letter from James Canning Fuller, of Skaneateles, New York, to Joseph Sturge, giving an account of a travel recently made into Kentucky. The object of the journey was to redeem a family of slaves, and was undertaken at the instance—it would appear from the letter, though it is not so stated,—of Gerrit Smith, one of whose family, Anne Carroll Fitzhugh, it would further appear, having considered herself under some especial accountability in the matter.

"Anne Carroll Fitzhugh," says the letter, "is the daughter of the late Col. Wm. Fitzhugh, a slaveholder, who formerly resided in Hagerstown, Maryland. About twenty three years ago, he removed to Genessee in the state, bringing with him about twenty of his human chattels, all of whom by the law of this state of 1817, became free, having left the remainder of his slaves on his plantation in Maryland. Mammy Lachael, who nursed the Colonel's wife on the birth of James Fitzhugh, and also of their sister Ann, gave to the former a boy, whose name was 'Sam,' and to the latter a girl, who was called Harriet. They grew up together, and ultimately their friendship ripened into affection; and as they were desirous of forming a matrimonial connexion, James wrote to his sister Ann, who was then about 18 years of age, to enquire of her if she would give him Harriet, that she might become Sam's wife."

Consent was given.

In the course of events, James Fitzhugh removed from Maryland to the state of Kentucky, and his pecuniary affairs became embarrassed, & his creditors clamorous for adjustment of their claims; and it appeared certain that ultimately his effects would be submitted to sale by the Sheriff, and a report being current that he had no good title to Harriet, one of his creditors, in payment of his debt, prevailed on him to let him have Sam, Harriet, and their first born child, which he did, and the purchaser Gabriel Jackson, afterwards sold them to Samuel Worthington, a Mississippi cotton planter."

This Samuel Worthington was not at this time residing in Mississippi, but on another estate in Harrodsburg, Ky.

The account, which friend Fuller gives of his journey, the negotiation for the purchase of the slaves, and the variety of incidents he met by the way, is truly interesting and characteristic. We have only room, after saying that the negotiations ended in the purchase of the family for the generous sum of \$3500, for the following passage, which gives an account of a visit our friend paid to Ashland, the residence of Henry Clay. We commend especially to those abolitionists who still cling to a party that has already informally nominated this man for the next presidential term.

"And I also wished to see the imported cattle and plantation of Henry Clay, whose testimony of himself is, 'that every pulsation of his heart beats high for liberty.' I learned at the stage office that there was no stage to Harrodsburg until the day following, and were I to go to Frankfort, should not reach the place of destination any sooner than by remaining in Lexington one day and taking stage the succeeding day, which enabled me to accomplish my wishes. Directly after breakfast I started for Ashland, which is about one and a half miles from the city. On reaching it I went to the front door to which there is neither knocker, bell-pull or knob handle. How unlike General Harrison's Log Cabin at North Bend, where political friends assert that the latch string was always hanging out, so that an old soldier or friend of the General's could always have entrance and a welcome to his board. I stood for some time in front of the house, viewing it as having been reared and its inmates sustained by the toil of unquieted labor, and then recurred to the political station of its owner, & in doing so involuntarily thought of our mutual friend Joshua Leavitt; it was scarcely an involuntary thought, for it was suggested by the beautiful appearance and effect produced of a cedar tree on either side of the Senator's door, shooting up, each of them, with three stems. The cedar Joshua has chosen for the crest of the third political party, and thinks, when the Hickory of Tennessee, the Elm of New York, the Buckeye of Ohio, and the Persimmon of Virginia; shall have perished into oblivion, the cedar shall stretch its arms over the nation. I suppose the Hickory, for its toughness and the smallness of the kernel of the nut, is an emblem of old Jackson; the Elm, a crooked warping timber, of Van Buren; the Buckeye, bearing a poisonous fruit, of Harrison; and the Persimmon, a Virginia weed, the 'abstraction' of a worn-out soil, an emblem of John Tyler. The Kentucky Cedar, the native state of Birney, is of a slow stunted growth, generally a ragged looking thing, and after many years growth, becomes fit for a post in rail fences, and it may be sometimes used as a whipping post for the poor slave. Some of us northern freemen have been whippled by new organizations to compel us to take shelter under the Kentucky Cedar, but it is no go, and the tree, I hope, will soon be removed, and if an emblem of a tree kind must be used, let us have a 'fruit-bearing one.' As it would appear clownish to strike at Senator Clay's door with the heel of one's shoe or boot, I concluded I would seek some other way of entrance, and went round to the other side of the house, there finding a closed door, and as there were no steps other than loose square blocks, free from mortar, supposed that was not a place for entry, and proceeded: when opposite the window I saw some colored people, and a little black girl came to me. I asked her if Henry Clay's wife was at home? Her reply—Yes. I wished to see her. She then desired me to walk around that way, which brought me to the door I was first at, and in a little time she opened it, and I handed her my card, desiring her to give it to her mistress and say that I wished to see some of the imported stock. She bro't word that there was no white men about to show it.

I construed this message to mean that a black man had not brains enough to show a bull, cow, or calf. I told her to go back and say I came from England, and a black man would answer the purpose as well as a white man. She hesitated to do so, and as I saw a colored man approaching the house, I went out to meet him, and said, 'Where went thou raised?' Washington." Did Henry Clay buy thee?" Yes."

"I wish to see his improved cattle."

"The man who has the care of them is in the orchard," pointing me to it. I said, "I will go to him, and I want an apple." As I went along I saw a little boy who appeared to be going the same way, and I asked if it was so, and being answered in the affirmative, called to him and said I would go with him. He appeared an active lively lad, with an intelligent countenance, and I am mistaken if nature did not dwell within his bosom. "Canst thou read?" "Dost thou go to school?" "No." "Is there a school for colored people on Henry Clay's plantation?" "No." "How old art thou?" "Don't know." This boy I suppose was about eight or nine years old. After walking a little way, was met by a white man, who said the man who had charge of the cow stock was on the other farm, and that he would send for him. The man whom I was conversing with I found to be a Sussex county man.—I wish Englishmen would not live with slaveholders, or go to reside in slave states. I said if he would send for him, I would go to the orchard and get a few apples. On getting to the orchard I saw a woman at work with her needle, and as I wished to converse with her, and see her, but "I walked towards her, and surveying her a moment or so, watching the celerity of her hand, I said, "how old art thou?" "A big fifty." "How old is

that?" "Near sixty." "How many children hast thou had?" "15 or 16." "Where are they?" "Colored people do not know where their children is, for they are sent all over the country." "Where wast thou raised?" "Washington." "Did Henry Clay buy thee there?" "Yes." "How many children hast thou then?" "Four." "Where are they?" "I don't know, they are dead." "How many husbands hast thou had?" "Two." "Is thy first dead?" "Yes." "Did Clay buy thy present husband?" "No he is a free man." "Did he come on with thee?" "Yes."

The hut in which this source of wealth lives is neither as good, nor as well floored as my stable. I then turned away into the orchard, where several slaves were engaged in picking fruit, and asked one of the young men if they were taught to read on this plantation. "No."

Having seen all I wanted, I made for the mansion, and found the man was there who had been sent for. Having a whip under his arm, I told him I need not ask who he was, seeing he carried his badge of authority with him. He asked me if I wished to see the imported cattle. I said yes, when they replied that they had but little, and that was all out from home: that Mr. Clay's sons have the most, and as there was no fault, supposed it was not worth seeing. I said it could not be. They then made out there were two full blooded calves, but I was satisfied with what I had seen, and only wanted to feel in my own hand the weight of a short handled and ponderous whip, which the possessor said was his riding whip, but had been broken, and that it answered two purposes, that of a riding whip, and "occasionally to whip them off," alluding to the slaves. What my friend, is to be learned from these gleanings at Ashland—from the doings of our mutual friend, Joseph John Gurney? "Dear friend! Henry Clay!—Why, that he buys human kind, male and female, on the spot, which of all others under heaven, ought to be freedom's own ground, and which ought not to be tainted with the tread of a slave's foot, or cursed with his presence.

Perhaps thou art not aware that when a couple of slaves some time since was marched by the Capitol at Washington, on which was floating in the breeze the star-spangled banner, one of them sarcastically sung—

Hail, ye heroes, heaven-born band!

It reminds me of Moore's sarcasm—

"The fustian fagot that proudly waves
In splendid mockery o'er a land of slaves."

We also learn that Henry Clay keeps immortal mind, made in God's own image, and destined like ourselves, and like himself, to endless happiness or to eternal misery; that he keeps such in eternal bondage, in Egyptian darkness! What are we to expect of a man who can buy, sell, or barter humanity? And what is humanity? It is not God's creation, and designed to be Christ's by redemption! If it be so, what is its value? Estimate the suffering in the Garden of Gethsemane, and the death and sufferings on Calvary's cross, if the atonement there made, and the triumphant resurrection and glorious ascension of our Redeemer can to the full extent be appreciated, while in this mortal coil, the question can be answered. And, shall the man who does this, and clothes another with unlimited, irresponsible power who is consigned heir presumptive to the Presidential chair, be sustained by American Abolitionists? Heaven forbid! "God and all nature cry out against it!" Yet loud as may the cry, and convincing as may be its sound, for it proceeds from the trumpet that does not give an uncertain sound, yet I fear there are those in our ranks so wedded, and so welded into party, that political bondage will make them, when they want to serve their political bias, and think they are thereby serving their country and themselves, will be found swerving from the right and from their country's real good. Do not think that Clay is "a sinner above all other men."—I think not so of him as far as I learnt he had about sixty slaves, and they appear to be well fed for slaves, well clothed and many of them are well formed, fine grown persons. I would here remark that the superior condition of Kentucky colored people over those of Maryland and Virginia cannot help striking a very superficial observer, and I account for it by their being better fed, better clothed, less worked, and the best of the species kept for bread. In the afternoon I called at the house Robert Wickliffe, Sen., for several years a member of the State Senate and in my way out of his beautiful pleasure ground fell in with a very smart, active, colored boy, of whom I queried—

"Canst thou read?"
"No."
"Dost thou go to school?"
"How old art thou?"
He artlessly, and with a good deal of innocence and cheerfulness, said, "Not very old."
I told him that was no answer to the question, and repeated it, when he said,
"Two or three."
Now this boy could not be, I think, less than eight or nine. Robert Wickliffe, Sen., is a large slaveholder, and has emancipated some slaves which were his wife's previous to their marriage, assigning in a printed pamphlet that he is an abolitionist. His son Robert, was elected to the State Legislature by a majority of 106, over C. M. Clay, yet I learnt that little or no dependence could be placed on the result of this contest, for those who voted against Clay, would not consent that the law of 1833 should be repealed, and many thought that neither of them ought to be sent to the Legislature; but Wickliffe it is said, spent \$5000 in bribery and intoxicating drinks, and I suppose Clay's hands are not quite clear in these respects.

From Lexington I went forward to Harrodsburg, and was glad to find that my staying at the former place had not impeded my progressing in the object of my journey, for Samuel Worthington had been over to the election and returned to Harrodsburg shortly after reaching it.

From the Madison County Abolitionist.

IRELAND: DEAR, SWEET IRELAND.

Every movement, at home or abroad, for the elevation of the GREEN Isle, is looked upon by us with interest, intense interest. We have read of Grattan, of Curran, of the Emmets who suffered for their devotion to the cause of freedom; and since we put on our "Psalm virilis," we have yielded up our "heart's best affection" without measure, to Daniel O'Connell. Is he not a man? every inch of him? Is he not a giant? Look at his history. Watch him for the last eighteen years, and then tell us. What a power in Parliament. There he stands, the orator, eloquent, classic, original; the "House of Commons," thrilling at his touch, as the harp vibrates when its cords are swept by some Irish bard, as he sits at the door at even-tide and sings—

Ireland, dear Ireland, when wilt thou be free?

When shall thy children repose?

Within the deep shade of LIBERTY's tree?

O Ireland! God only knows.

Yet that tree, with its branches long wither'd and dead,

Once more is leafing out green,

So my hopes fail me, not I, shall yet rest my head

Within its broad shadow, I ween.

O Ireland! in thy soil lie pillow'd the dead,

Who fought for sweet liberty,

Of these shall it never be said,

They children, their children are free!"

And there you behold him the patriot, with a heart full of his country's wrongs, urging his countrymen up to the redress of those wrongs

by strong and powerful appeals to them, of their past greatness and glory, of the day when

she belonged to herself, and no stranger coveted or owned her.

The Irish, at home, are as full of kindness and democracy as they are of wit, and he who knows anything of the Irish character, knows that it is as bright as the streams that gush down its hill-sides. It is seldom that a foolish Irishman is found. Drunk you may often find them; ragged, saucy because drunk, but oppressed with "stultiloquence," never. Moreover, it takes a residence in this country, to spoil the spirit of an Irishman. Free as the air of the land he loves, in his feelings, he runs away from his own country to this, that he may twine our rose and his shamrock together, and bind them as a blushing evergreen about his brow; but alas, he finds our rose, as he presses the wreath to his temples, full of thorns.

Few Irishmen emigrate to this country who are benefited. In some things, they undoubtedly are; but few are there, who do not imbibe a contractedness of spirit upon settling in the United States. Their hatred of colored men is all artificial. It is the venom of *American Republicanism* that circulates through their veins, tainting their blood to water, and withering and blighting the free and generous soul that the Great God made; for we are that all travellers are falsified, or that an Irishman, in his invasion of Dublin, or in his hovel on the bogs of Limerick, cannot be out-sized in soul. For *greatness of soul*, he can compare with a world, without fear of being out-measured. We always look with great interest upon the sons of Erin who lands in our midst. Ignorant of our customs, jovial, generous to a fault, his apprenticeship soon commences. He soon finds himself among a people who rank "niggers" as brute beasts, and himself as next to niggers; who will prey upon him like harpies, and give him to understand that God made him a "clothes horse," and *them* to use him as such. Why should he not hate the colored man? Is he not placed the lowest on the scale of graduation down among cattle; and does not the Irishman himself measure by him, in the esteem of the wise, the polite, the virtuous, democratic, religious public? Does he not feel, that upon him there is resting a prejudice, that in his case, flows forth to his ruin, not for his color's sake, but for his condition? He fled from the fangs of the British lion to the eagle's eyrie for protection, and has made, but an exchange of vipers. The eagle's talons are as sharp as the lion's teeth. Are there not the meanest elements in our republicanism, of any political philosophy in the world? Pure despotism is queenly in its characteristics, by its side. She throws the bones of spirit without any cheating or deceit. She wears her insignia of office—her gold bolts and spurs, and fastens them on a woman's heel, to prove her "God-given right" to crush God's spirit in a man; and he who submits to have the Juggernaut of power roll at the "word of command," over his prostrate body, does it with his eyes open. There is no chance to be duped. But here, on a soil rich with blood, it has been done, it is as fatal as the poisoned shaft of Nerius.

But we must not make this article too long.—One point we wish to impress upon our pro-slavery readers, viz: That Ireland is waking up; and that a more spirited movement than ever is being made for Ireland's enfranchisement.—Meetings to raise funds and to inspirit the Irish, are held in different parts of this country. We notice in the last Western State Journal, that a large one was held at Syracuse, at which three cheers were given for Daniel O'Connell. This will be repaid by and bye, with a letter from O'Connell to his countrymen on the subject of SLAVERY, and then comes the "tug of war,"—Ireland gets sympathy for her oppressed, and she pays us back in the same coin. We love to see the Irish in this country consistent lovers of liberty, and they will make the welkin ring three cheers for Ireland and the anti-slavery enter-

PRINCIPLES.

Two things are essential to a good government. Body and soul, or principles, and the forms in which the principles are to be habited. Good principles are the first; good forms, through which to give those principles an exhibition, a second essential; a lack of either, makes the government a bad one. Principles unrepresented are of little force; they walk by moonlight, and the shades of night hide them. They are spiritual, and thus invisible when disembodied.

They are intangible, because impalpable, and what does not touch, is not touched. On the other hand, forms without the spirit are of no less impotency; mere pillars of salt; unmoved and immovable. They fail to be of any practical advantage to mankind, when disconnected with the soul, that gives them grace and beauty.

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